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ABSTRACT

This document is the Project Europe 2000 Pre-primary Education report of the European Cultural Foundation. The objective of the study was to determine the trends in the child-school-society relation, so that educational planning could be constructed in the context of future needs. To aid in this analysis, data was collected concerning the psychological, sociological, and educational aspects of pre-primary education from three main sources: (1) from current recognized European experts in the field; (2) from six other European pre-primary educational systems (England, France, Italy, Sweden, Federal Republic of Germany, and the USSR); and (3) from conferences and on-site observations. Particular attention is given to the development of education and the teaching of the pre-school child in connection with industrialization, living in towns, and relations within the family. An historical perspective on the development of pre-primary education in Europe has also been included. (CS)

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PREFACE

Herewith we present you the report Pre-primary Education (Project I, Subject III, Study 9D) of the Project Europe 2000 of the European Cultural Foundation.

Some preceding remarks:

1. At the moment this study started, there was comparatively little interest for p.p.e. In the mean time this has positively changed. All this has had consequences with regard to the literature, on which this report is based and the response on the two inquiries, which are set up in the framework of this study.
2. Regarding the available literature: Since the closing of the project there has appeared so much literature with, on all domains new data, that to a certain extent parts of the report already can be considered as no more adequate. On the other hand much recent literature is no more than enumerating opinions and research still has to conquer itself an important place.
3. Regarding the response on the two inquiries: On both but specially on the second inquiry (which was in the first place directed on six countries: England, Italy, France, Germany, Sweden, USSR) the response was small. A word of thanks to those who did (and than often very conscientious) answer the inquiries surely is due here.
4. Now p.p.e. still gets more attention one can notice that various institutes are busy doubling each others work
   Therefore it is recommendable to coordinate the activities on international level.

Prof.dr. L. van Gelder.

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The chapters 3 to 5 are giving, on the basis of literature, a survey of

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2- Inquiry I + list of respondents

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Chapter I. Objective, organization and method of the study.

At the instance of the European Cultural Foundation a study of "educational structures and curricula at different levels in the year 2000" was started in 1969. This report concerns the study (study 9D) started in September 1970.

1.1. Objective.

The objective of the project has been formulated as follows: "To determine the increasingly important place of pre-primary education in the intellectual and emotional education of the child, and to define the essential role it can play in efforts directed towards democratizing the access to education, and determining individual vocations". Plan Europe 2000, project 1, 1970 V, volume IV).

When we accepted to undertake the study, it was determined that it should be directed to:

a. the ideas, methods and systems of instruction and education for children in the age-group of 2/3 to 6/7 years as they can and should develop in a future society.

b. the data from educational, psychological and sociological research that may be useful for the further determination of the situation of the children in the future.

c. the development of education and teaching in early childhood in connection with industrialization, living in towns, relations within the family, etc.

d. the development of forms of education and teaching that may be expected or should be planned in the future.

e. the facilities that will be necessary in order to give children in the years to come an adequate education in the intellectual, emotional, artistic and social fields.

1.2. Organization and method of the study

1. Literature research.

2. Inquiry I concerning the psychological, sociological and educational aspects of pre-primary education. In view of the objective of this inquiry, namely the collection of ideas, opinions about various aspects of pre-primary education of all attainable experts in Europe, we have made a concise, open questionnaire.

3. Inquiry II concerning the methods, systems and facilities of pre-primary education. The objective of this inquiry is to obtain data that are as factual as possible about methods, systems and facilities of pre-primary education in European countries, which we think important (England, France, Italy, Sweden, Federal Republic of Germany and the USSR). This inquiry has been structured as much as possible by means of categories adopted from B.Trouillet- "Vorschulerziehung in neun europäischen Ländern" 1967 (Pre-primary education in nine European countries). For this inquiry we consulted the C.B.S. (the Dutch central office of statistics).

4. Data from conferences, conversations with experts and observations on the spot have also been incorporated into the study.

Chapter II. Change of function of pre-primary education.

1. J.A.Comenius (1592-1670) is generally recognized as one of the first thinkers who also put the education of the young child into a school system (1; p.1).
   The elementary cultural principles are taught the child in the "mother school" (until 6 years). Via the mothers Comenius directs himself to all children (2; passim).
   This "pre-school" education has to lay the basis for his "social reform" idea.
   According to Prins (3; p.149) the "mother school" includes the nursery school. "There the children have to learn dealing with each other, speaking, singing and ciphering. Moreover they have to learn there good morals and exercise the senses and memory".
2. From J.J.Rousseau (1712-1778) we principally take the emphasis on the personality of the child. In his writings he stresses the child as bearer of the potential good in contrast with the corrupt society. A new fact is that Rousseau does not look for the adult in the child. "Laissez mûrir l'enfance dans l'enfant" (3; p.208). Whereas there is in Comenius question of a general school method to be introduced by the state or community, we could observe in Rousseau a private enterprise that is attractive indeed but produces no system of education and teaching.

3.1. Social aspects in the 19th century
The family life of the working-classes is subjected, to a great extent, to the influences of the Industrial Revolution. The educational functions of the family, the locality and the community get into a hole. Various motives are getting mixed up when in that time children are entered into educational and teaching institutions, namely

a. The struggle against child labour.
b. The entrance of children into institutions which replace working and consequently absent parents.
c. "Education of the working-people". Care for children played an important part in the improvement of the general social situation of labourers. (4; passim)

3.2. Examples of more or less utopian institutions are

a. a school for very young children of factory-workers at New Lamark, founded by R.Owen. He deemed communal education (plus teaching) necessary from the age of about 1½ year. Buchanan and Widerspin propagated his ideas in that time and they themselves also elaborated these ideas further. Widerspin puts emphasis on the curriculum and on the systematic extension. At the same time he promoted a greater extension of nursery-education. (5; p.126-133)

b. In France Fourrier published a theory of pre-primary education. In his utopy "La Phalange" he advocated free, general, communal education of very young children, however in accordance with their ages. (5; p.2 3).

3.3. Influence of the English nursery schools on other countries.

In consequence of journeys to England (Fliedner)and the translation of a book of Widerspin into German, among other things, the ideas about pre-primary education gained ground in this language area (Germany, Austria, Hungary).
In Germany various institutions were now founded in a short time (for instance Berlin 1830-1847: 30 institutions for working-class children from 2 to 6 years).
In 1836 Fliedner started a training institution for nursery school teachers. Oberlin tried to set up public nursery school education together with regional improvement.
Fölsing seeks co-operation between "Kleinkinderschulen" of the churches and of others but he also advocates a division of the reception of infants namely in nursery schools for poor children and "Kleinkinderschulen" for rich children (5; pag.144-151)

3.4. In the field of social work the activities of Jane Addams may be mentioned. About 1890 she and a group of social workers endeavour to restore the disturbed balance in the slums of Chicago ("neighbourhood, regeneration"). She founded day-nurseries for children of working mothers, children's clubs and gave child-care courses to mothers.

4.1. Educational aspects 19th/20th centuries.

The social emotions with regard to the situation of life of the working-classes go together with educational ideas in the course of time.
Pestalozzi, as a pioneer emphasizes the importance of the home surroundings. He tries to give a practical guide for parents regarding education and teaching of the young child.
Fröbel composed a method for pre-primary education: He posits that "Bildung" (education) can be cultivated in the child if it is given time to play with materials especially designed for the child. This methods completes the education in the family, does not, however, put emphasis on achievement but the "total experience" of the child and the development of its phantasy. (see chapter 3).

4.2. About 1900, in the time of the Reform movement, the individuality of the child is regarded not only in limited circles but also generally. The individuality of the development of the child is recognized. Learning to observe correctly and learning to think logically, possibilities of social contacts and emotional development for the young child are conditions for such a development.
Montessori, Krupskaja, Decroly and others try to incorporate into their systems the education and teaching of the young child. (see chapter 3), (Krupskaja,15).

4.3. Political/social causes (war, crisis) have blacked out various ideas dating from this period. Theories about anti-authoritarian education (Bernfeld), linguistic theories (Vygotsky) had no sufficient chances when considered from the point of view of science and society. In this time we find no new pre-primary education types or compensatory programs.(compare 8; p.14-16).

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5.1. Acceleration after World War II.

Before 1945 there was already a beginning of change in the school system (elaboration of the ideas of Montessori, Decroly etc.)
Growing prosperity gives new impulses for research and the realization of necessary modifications. Nursery school education is regulated by law. The stress is put (or remains) on the supposition that individual "spontaneous" development based on playing is possible (13).

5.2. M.Pines maintains that about 1960 a "revolution" in the thinking about the learning of young children occurs. Children can learn more in a shorter time, if necessary by means of audio-visual media, teaching-machines, etc. She paints a scene of battle on which the older tendency reproaches the newer tendency with one- sidedness of talent-development and too much emphasis on teaching. The newer tendency reproaches the older tendency with a too one-sided direction to the emotional-social development of the child, which would be equally valid for all environments and in which there would be hardly question of teaching (9, passim).

5.3. The development of some sciences parallels and is connected with the growing interest in education and teaching of the young child. In development-psychology the importance, among other things, of a stimulating environment in connection with learning-processes is proved (Bloom,10). In sociology it is proved that a lag in the development of subgroups is conditioned by the environment (davis, 11). In economics and politics it is a subject of study how all potential talents may be utilized and in pedagogics it appears, for instance, that the more or less "fixed" images of the child are changing (anthropological orientation being used). (12) Very small children were treated as "adults" in the past while hearly adult people were considered as "children".

5.4. The discussion about pre-primary education in the year 1972 is concentrated on the following points:

a. The continuty of education and teaching should guarantee facilities of pre-primary education within a total structure.
b. The discussion about providing equal opportunities does not exclude individual development but should just make this individual development possible for everybody to the greatest extent.
c. The social development of the child is emphasized by obliging it to be capable in making social and emotional contacts, in showing group- and social solidarity. Education in day-nurseries and nursery schools can make this possible.
d. The creative development of the child does not only take place in playing. It is admitted that creativity has also a place in the cognitive development as well as in the emotional development.

e. In pre-primary education the attention for development of cognition has increased very much. By means of research it is tried to examine effects of training and to create earlier and easier transitions between various stages (Piaget, Bruner).
Teaching can be done better. The linguistic development supports the development of cognition (Vygotsky, Bernstein).

f. A more intensive relation between the family and the school as educational and teaching environments is necessary. The concern of parents with school helps the parents in handling their children better and in getting into contact with other people.(14, p.D12).

g. The importance of senso-motor-training for the young child in America. (Montessori) gave an impulse to the development of all sorts of learning-machines. The technological development can favour very much a quicker extension of pre-primary education, for instance, by means of television (compensation) programs (as in the United States "Sesame Street").

h. Pre-primary education to deprived groups in society (compensation programs) implies that the family should not be replaced but supplemented and that the norms of the family surroundings should be respected as much as possible. Compensation programms can only temporarily be useful for certain groups: they draw the attention to the necessity of modification of the existing school-and social structure.

i. The Freudian ideas about aggression and infant sexuallity return to life as a result of anti-authoritarian educational experiments (mostly in Germany). There is no question yet of new ideas.

j. After World War II Bowlby and Spitz in their reports to the World Health Organization have made the development of the child dependent, to a large extent, on the love and care of the mother for the child, especially in the first years of life.
In America (and Europe) Spock educated a generation of children by advising their parents about the education of their children and by demanding especially patience and carefulness.
On the other hand it is maintained now that a systematic approach of young children in the form of education should be possible too.

Chapter III. Psychological aspects.

1. In the preceding chapter we saw the change of function of pre-primary education as it took place in the last two centuries and in the present chapter we wish to go further into the development-psychological thinking, which caused the change.
It is important to ascertain which are the most important psychological theories on which the new ideas about pre-primary education are based. Starting from the "data" (2.1.) in the psychic development we will discuss afterwards the principal motive powers of that development (2.2.), their various aspects (2.3.) and finally the conditions (2.4.) on which they can proceed best (1; p.214).

2.1. At the beginning of every human development is the Biological Moment being born with a certain genetic potential and the possibility to mature. The inherent helplessness requires care and protection by the environment.
When the environment provides this safety, the development of the ego can start through exploration, the environment serving as a looking-, hearing-, touching- and moving-room (2) (3).

2.2. At its birth the child possesses only a very small number of innate behavioural patterns, the greater part is acquired in interaction with its surroundings during the learning-process, which starts at its birth (4; p.22 and following pages).
The most import motive powers for the development are:
a- Curiosity and the desire for knowledge. Its neuropsychological basis is a group of reflexes connected with orientation, investigation and imitation.
b- The striving of the child for social contacts and attachments (smiling, contact-reflexes, crying) (5).

2.3. In the development of the child various aspects can be distinguished, which have been alternately stressed in the course of time and from which can be deduced in some measure what human image was a model for education in a certain period. As examples, to which we shall revert in detail, we mention:
- The cognitive aspect (Piaget, Vygotsky).
- The social aspect (Dewey).
- The motor aspect (Montessori).
- The emotional aspect (A.Freud).
- The sensory functional aspect (Montessori).
- The empirical aspect (Decroly).

2.4. In order to state a number of conditions that together may guarantee a development as favourable as possible of the young child, we refer to the points mentioned under 2 (1.2.3.):
- The undisturbed maturation and development of the central nervous system.
- Care leading to physical comfort.
- Safety leading to emotional stability and exploration of the environment an ever wider sense.
- A stimulating environment because it appears from research (6), that the environment of the very young child is decisive for the development of its intelligence,

- because certain characteristics are formed exactly in the first years and then rapidly;
- because this development in the first years lays the basis of any further development;
- because it is easier to learn something new than to have to replace acquired behavioural patterns by new ones.

2.5. The environment can stimulate in the following aspects:

a- Intellectual. Exercising in language and abstractions and increasing knowledge of words by talking, reading and imitation.

b- Social. Group-dynamic processes are important for children. The child has to learn to become an individual in the group. The principle of competition should not be encouraged (Kinderladen).

c- Creative. Providing expression possibilities in games and materials (Montessori gives insufficient opportunity to experiment with materials so that phantasy can not develop) Piaget maintains in this connection: the phantasy from the age of 12 months is internalized imitation and is based on the motor act.

d- Motor. Exercising skills and muscle-control is important for the exploration of the surroundings and for the development of thinking at pre-operational level (8).

e- Emotional. Safety and warmth in the family promote a harmonic emotional development. The presence of the two sexes in the family gives possibilities of identification while toleration of aggression by the creation of possibilities of expression and sublimation can be realized. This is chiefly stressed in non-authoritarian educational theories.
Critical independence as a counterpoise to the levelling effect of society can be stimulated in the family by promoting free expression of opinion and discussion among the members of the family. (As equivalents of the family we can mention the commune and the one-parent family).
At the moment the emphasis is not so much on one of the above mentioned aspects but human development in its totality is aimed at all these domains included.
To institutions for pre-primary education, which function as bridges between the family and the school, the requirements mentioned under 2.5. apply.

3: Nevertheless in the discussion that arose about this "optimum development" points of view may be clearly distinguished, namely:

3.1. The cognitivistic point of view (under the influence of Piaget, Bruner and Vygotsky) in which language development in the widest sens gets most emphasis. In order to underline the importance of a justified guidance of the very young child we wish to go further into cognitive development as Piaget sees it, namely as a slow process in which the child is at first fully dependent on actions and perceptions but is going to rely more and more on ideas according that it develops intelllectual ideas about, for instance, time, number, causality and logical divisions by which it can organize its experiences. Piaget calls this a decentralization process.

He distinguishes various stages in cognitive development of which the following are important for pre-primary education:

Stage I (0-2 years) Senso-motor stage in which the child learns to co-ordinate and apply elementary schemes (spatial relations, time, causality) scheme-behavioural pattern with a determined structure.

Stage II (2-7 years) Pre-operational stage. The child learns to represent the world by means of signs and symbols (words and pictures)

Piaget concludes from his investigations that there is a fixed sequence of stages in the development of thinking and that thinking at a certain level differs qualitatively from thinking at another level.

The various stages are attained with great individual differences caused by education, culture, measure of intellectual stimulation and heredity.

We stress the special part that language is playing.

It enlarges the world of the child and modifies the nature of intelligence (9). Thinking representatively can include a number of events as a coherent whole and for its thinking the child is no longer dependent on action and direct perception. Moreover communication by language promotes socialization (I).

General factors resulting from socialization influence intellectual growth (II).

In view of I and II early institutionalization would be desirable (10) (11).

Censequences of this point of view are, among other things, compensatory programs and pro-early-learning theories in the United States (11)(12)

3.2. The psycho-analytical point of view (Freud,Reich) on which anti-authoritarian Kinderladen (Stuttgart,Frankfurt,Berlin) are based. It rejects that the authority (of educators) should counteract the Uber-ich strategy of the child. Authority causes helplessness and fear for freedom, which promotes crowd mentality and obstructs individual development and self-responsibility. Moreover suppression of child sexuality leads to aggression (See further under "Anti-authoritarian ideas").

3.3. The social-emotional point of view elaborated in the "Mental Health" theories (U.S.A.)

A typical middle-class idea starting from the own materially good position without attention to the working-class situation.

The great promotor of this idea is Dr.B.Spock who stands in the way of a deeper insight into child development on a large scale.

4. The above shows that a guidance as many-sided as possible in the years preceding entrance to school in primary education is most important for the possibility of success of each child.

4.1. In the acquisition of language there are, however important psychological factors that tell against early institutionalization for instance, identification, internalization and imitation.

The frequency and the intensity of the contact between the mother and her baby, the extent to which this contact is satisfactory appear to determine also at the pre-linquistic as well as at the linquistic levels the formation of symbols and successful acquisition of language.

Dumont (12) observes in this connection that lack of readiness for school may be typified best as a delayed differentiation of the symbolic manifested by impulsivity, egocentricity, paucity of symbols and a lag in the expression-systems of games and language. Essential elements as causes of retardation have not been identified yet.

4.2. The entrance of the very young children is restricted in various countries in order not to impede the development of the mother-child relation and there is a clear tendency to entrance for half days (13) (Czechoslovakia).
E.Schmidt-Kölmer (5) contests that institutionalization at an early age necessarily leads to hospitalism. If there is sufficient combined play of stability and continuity on the one hand and variation and change on the other hand in the interaction between the child and its environment, the child will not be reduced to apathy, stereotypical behaviour, in short, to hospitalism.

4.3. In reports, mostly by foreigners, about the reception of little children in the USSR it strikes that a considerable number of children are put up in day-nurseries from childhood. These day-nurseries are operating according to a carefully thought-out program including materials for development, playing and learning, methods of approach and care etc. The teachers are obliged to follow this program so as to guarantee a course of development which by means of experiments and recording will become an optimum process in course of time (14).

Anti-authoritarian ideas

A first effort to realize collective education on a psycho-analytical basis was made by Vera Schmidt in a children's home at Moscow (1921-1924).
The goal was to provide the child with possibilities-adapted to its development-for sublimation and the object had to be attained by means of extreme satisfaction of primary impulses and needs. Exterimental free education can never be considered independently of the social context; Vera Schmidt and Wilhelm Reich wanted to make their psychoanalytic knowledge productive for political work (so-called sexpolmovement) (18) (19).
The German Kinderladen (Berlin,Frankfurt,Stuttgart) were organized in consequence of the Vietnam demonstrations when it clearly appeared that women cannot be acting productively in politics for the following reasons:
- there are too few Kindergartens;
- the existing ones are authoritarian (=detrimental to the child)
- Consequently new ones should be founded:

Vera Schmidt,Reich Neill (the latter is considered as to much "élite"; his school Summerhill had hardly any connection with society) oriented themselves to Freud (unconscious impulses are expressions of the libido sexualis, suppression of infant sexuality causes aggression). They wanted to create a children's community in which the children's actual primary impulses can direct themselves to contemporaries and not-as in authoritarian education- have to be suppressed extremely and so cause unconscious fear and feelings of guilt which strenghten the fixation to the parents and so maintain the authoritarian pattern. The central theme of anti-authoritarian education is self-regulation of individuals and groups (20). Self-regulation and sublimation are therefore made possible by a large measure of liberty.
Another motive was increase of equal possibilities for working-class children at the beginning of primary education by so-called "Fruhförderung" (stimulation of language and thinking at an early age).
Further critical independence, solving conflicts mutally, solidarity and creativity were regarded as important aspects.
Very regular contact with parents is a requirement for continued identification with the objectives, which causes many personal problems, At the moment it is not quite clear to what ex-

Chapter 4. Sociological aspects: the function of pre-primary education in society.

1. In consequence of its techmological-economic structure and the accelaration of various developments the changing society demands other things from education and teaching, for instance:

1.1. The child should be trained at an early age to deal with various primary and secundary social relations because of their increasing importance.

1.2. The multiformity of the present society and the future society already demands from the child the ability to judge critically and a critical attitude.

1.3. The economic-technical highly developed society demands a maximal use of individual talents.

Re.1.1:1.

Socialization of man takes place within the primary and secundary groups. In the primary group (the family) the child is often living in a small space (flats) and (specially at an early age) has to be content with few secundary contact possibilities. The process of urbanization we have been experiencing in the last few decades is in our opinion an aspect of a society that is taking a "kindfeindlich" position. The viability and the playing facilities of new quarters are often economized on and when play-grounds are laid out, they are often made of concrete, hardly with grass and plants. If in this living-environment the mother is working out of doors, the child is thrown on and served by an institution where it has additional possibilities of development. As well for little families these completions are desirable.

Re.1.1:2.

Pre-primary education is, however, also desirable, if the mother is not working out of doors but is participating in the work in the family (for instance, agrarian industries and small shopkeepers). Further there are small society forms where the mother is not as a matter of course the "woman at home" (one-parent-family, commune). Various forms of pre-primary education are then useful and correspond with the needs of the child and its situation of life. Pre-primary education should present multifarious social contacts and possibilities of identification.
The emphasis will then more be on the relations with contemporaries. An example may be found in the home-yard in Finland (1.passim) where the child from about 2 years of age is learning to become an individual in a group. The child becomes group-sensitive without subordination of norms and it learns all sorts of positions, attitudes and roles: co-operation, altruism, creativity etc. It learns to solve itself conflict situations and it shows more "achievement motive".

Re.1.2.:1.

Confronted with a rapidly changing complex society, whether we like it or not, we as older people have the task to prepare the young children for that society. In our opinion a self-critical and society-critical attitude is then a first requirement.

Re.1.3.:1.

The ever changing society is a challenge for everybody. We do not meet society alone: we are part of this society and we are making an effort to see the forces in this society in relation to our own doings.

If we use all potential talents in order to raise the gross national product of the nation by some percents, we are betraying those groups of citizens that put first and foremost circumstances of life which are worthy of human beings (environment control, more intensive relationships in the family and working-situation). We should discern the danger that certain social groups alleging "equality of opportunities" wish to secure in fact their economic interests.
The development of everybody's individual talents does not yet lead to the end of the exploitation of talents and work of human beings.

2. In the present changes the stress is on equality of opportunities in the social-ethical field, namely:

2.1. The right to education for every individual from whatever social class.

2.2. Equal rights for men and women.

Re 2.1.:1.

Social justice is formulated as the demand to society that every individual, irrespective of the environment where he/she grows up, has the right to the best possible education for him/her. The gap between talking about equality and really striving to equality is still extremely large.
Berting (2,p.3-5) mentions a number of causes for the sociologists acting as spectators only. The first cause: "After World War II it was thought that the most important social problems had been solved and that the increasing prosperity would contribute to a growing equity in the distribution of scarce goods".
This picture was not seen by everybody and that it is being seen ever less needs no further explanation.

Re 2.1.:2.

The process of socialization should give the various subgroups in society as many opportunities as possible. In the first place the government should follow an educational and family policy that does justice to the optimum socialization of the child at an early age.

Re 2.2.:1.

Men and women should have the same opportunities for work. This will be reflected in the family pattern. The increasing participation of women in labour is determined by various factors. On the one hand it is declared that women should work in order to continue the production-process, on the other hand it is maintained that the economic necessity causing women to work outdoors results from the family budget itself. There is further a psychic reason for which women are going to work out of doors, namely the satisfaction it gives in various respects.

Re 2.2.;2.

Without harmful consequences the child can go to a day-nursery provided that the parents, apart from their work, can have the necessary interest in their child (3,summary). Research (3,summary) shows that working mothers are often more tolerating towards the children and that they are dealing with children more quietly.
The question rises whether especially the mother can be replaced in a number of her tasks/functions. Research also shows that this can be the case provided that the replacing persons play more or less the part of "Dauerbezugspersonen".

Re 2.2.:3. As regards the financial side we wonder whether parents who do not work out of doors should not recieve an indemnity for the time spent for the education of their children. Education and teaching of children are investments in human beings by which society profits.

Re 2.2.:4. Everybody who wants to be useful in this society by means of his/her work should get that chance. After the birth of a child the mother should get leave for a certain period with salary. When the mother would start working again about half a year after the birth, the baby would not yet experience the separation very much. However, a period of a year or longer is generally deemed necessary for a close relationship between the mother, and the child.
The transition from care at home to care at the day-nursery should take place very gradually,(5,passim).

3. The possibilities of the family.

3.1. Until about 1900 it was possible that the family saw to the education of the child and prepared it for a trade in the sphere of the family. The technical-industrial and social changes led to education and teaching outside the family. Parents have got accustomed to this situation. The child has to attend school at a certain age and for a certain period. For many parents that is automatically the time in which the children have to learn; before the moment of entrance the child is doing other things, for instance, playing, after leaving school the child is working. In the meantime the school has arranged teaching and the differentiation of teaching (selection plus attribution of jobs)status) in such a way that the parents have hardly to step in. Parents are limited in their possibilities. The teaching they received themselves they experience as primitive and they have little routine in reflecting on educational situations because they come into touch with only few children.

3.2. In this situation the school discovers that much of its activity no longer occurs on the basis of the knowledge, approval and stimulation by the parents.
For a number of children the school discovers that it acts autonomously and that it bears the full responsibility for the weal and woe of these children. The school does not and cannot fulfil this task or it would ally have to be set up as an autonomous educational and teaching institution.
Now that this is not the case, the school has to return to its basis. The parents on the one hand and society on the other hand have delegated tasks and the present-day school can only act adequately on the basis of what parents were and are doing in education and on the basis of what society makes possible ideally, financially etc.

3.3. A new appeal is made to the possibilities of the family; the limitations of the various families should,however,be discerned too.
The child from a deprived environment has a less positive and different attitude with respect to learning, curiosity, responsibility and "achievement-motive" and therefore needs different help.
Bernstein and many others with him point to the importance of a language stimulating environment for the intellectual development. The consequence is that each child from whatever environment is already early brought into language stimulating situations.

Linguistic compensatory programs, which have been developed in this connection and which are applied intentionally and in a relatively short time, are only an indication of what is to come (6.passim;7).

4. Tension between the social demands on the one hand and the possibilities of the family on the other hand.

4.1.1. "The structures of social institutions and the role expectations linked up with them are not, however, products of a historical accident. They are determined by the method of production predominating in the society under consideration. Each method of production, which is determined by the situation of the production potential as well as by the production ans possession relations, fixes in fact the average measure of social labour for every class and also the mode of their distribution (among sexes, age-groups etc.)
These economic demands do not only form labour itself but also the whole social life including the so-called "private sphere", family-life, leisure, educational practice etc." (8, p.252)
The patriarchie family structure, based for the greater part on an agrarian-economic structure, was characterized by influences of the family and the village community on the socialization of the child. Due to the rise of industry the family become more the "Kernfamilie".
This type of family is characterized by division of labour between the parents, the father outdoors, the mother in the household, further by an early training in cleanness and tidiness of the children, suppression of child sexuality and few possibilities for free play. (9,p.13)
This type of family retreats to itself and in consequence of stronger emotional relations the parents become the only relevant identification figures.
The above did not, however. apply to all classes equally which clearly appears in the present developments in social and economic respects.

4.1.2. The "Kernfamilie" as such has ever less reasons to exist, among other things, owing to external factors :
As a cell in a "hostile" society. the family can no longer exist as such, as society is penetrating in all possible ways into the family, among other things, by means of mass-production of articles of luxury, planned wastage, forcing up needs by manipulation etc. (10, p.16,17).
The personal authoritarian relationships are and have been replaced by the less transparent authoritarian structures of the system in which the father and the mother are working.

4.1.3. Internal factors: Within the family situation the authoritarian structures do not, in fact, give the child the liberty and possibility of identification one could expect. They can be a source of all possible conflicts between the parents, parents and children and also the children.

4.1.4. The "Kernfamilie" is no model that is equally valid for all classes of the population. It is chiefly a "middle-class" model, whereas in other classes of the population modifications of this model and even totally deviating patterns can exist.

4.2.1. A new type of family (more open in an open society) would be characterized by the conditions:

a- that authoritarian relationships between parents and children have been solved (also financially);

b- that the ambivalent relationships (love plus discipline) have been weakened;

c- that it realizes a "repressionsfreie Erziehung". (11,passim).

After the above psycho-analytic orientations we here state in imitation of Liegle (11) marxist orientations:

a- Education will be socialized.

b- The unity of education, teaching and productive work will be realized.

c- A parallelism of social and individual interests will be obtained.

4.2.2. Education will then have to be characterized by an open relationship with society. Aspiration after a poly-cultural development demands more open objectives from the school and, as a result, a more flexible organization. The "open school" (12,p.107 and following pages) demands an integration of the problems of society in the school. Emphasis is then put less on formal training for artificially divided subjects but more on "informal learning".

Institutions for pre-primary education would not have to decline a basic program besides the "informal learning".

4.2.3. Pre-primary education can become a concern of the "community", chiefly as regards reception-centres. The parents and others could be frequently involved in the various reception possibilities. Indirect parent education would become an important aspect of this activity. Not only participation but even involvement of the parents is possible (13, appendix D). Pre-primary education then gets a consciously stimulating function in society and not the complementary function for a small group which does not in fact need completion because of existing provisions in its environment.

Chapter V. Pedagogical aspects: change in the objectives of education and teaching.

1. Besides psychological and sociological aspects the pedagogical aspects occupy a special place.
Education and teaching of the young child are the object of pedagogics. Man is a being that can be educated and depends on education.
The central question is: "How do we justice to the human being that depends on education?", an anthropological question which is directed pedagogically (4, passim, especially chapter 8).

2.1. The changing objectives, especially regarding education and teaching of the young child, are objects of pedagogics. Whereas the early age of children were for a long time tabu in education and teaching, now it is just the early age of children when- we think- they can be ducated and taught (1, chapter 7).
In pedagogics we are confronted with mutually contrasting and/or complementary objectives which we give a concrete form and which we operationalize according that we limit the appreciation of time and space. Parents wonder what they want to do with their child. But also society as a collective proposes its objects. In the education and teaching compromise the goals concern the behaviour of the child which has to be "desirable" or "valuable" for all parties. (5). However, there exists a certain tension in most cases between the parties, child, parents, school and society as regards the aims.

2.2. Initiatives based on curriculum development, programmed instruction, teaching evaluation etc. lead to the situation that making objectives explicit in view of future society becomes a concern of many people.
In our opinion the active process of the operationalization of objectives is new and the datum that the change of objectives is inherent in social development is not new. Philosophy, ethics and theology have been called norm-sciences for a long time and they are so called still.
The formulation of objectives, however, is now much more effected in a social context, which clearly entails the advantage of giving concrete forms to matters and operationalization. In this respect also philosophic, ethic and theologic speculations have been socialized.
In the pedagogic reform (about 1900) the objectives are formulated again, however, in that time on the basic of the natural environment, the family, the community etc. The psychology of those days has a peg to hang one's hat on. The goals correspond with the "natural" psychic development of the child. In our time the objectives are more sociologically limited and starting-points for and in the future. Objectives are developed starting from the question what we need rather than starting from the acknowledgement of what we have.
It is mostly recognized that we are living in a state of transition. The analysis of the present situation is then so disappointing that it is no longer thought possible to continue thinking in the old well-known ways. The idea of the necessity of "future creation" is then gaining ground. The poignant question is, however, how we are to obtain a better "future creation" if the present data are insufficient.

4. The picture of the child that adults have been making and unmaking in the course of the centuries is still only obscure. It is the "adult" that is making for himself a picture of the "child". This explains the idea that the child should get the chance to be a child.
"In the course of recent centuries we as pupils of Rousseau have ever more made infancy infantlike and so prolonged it. We have rendered a bad service to the children themselves.
In the tactical manoeuvre against the increasing influence of technics we have created a sentimental and incorrect infancy ideology" (2, p. 244).
At a given moment the child should become adult. We get a clearer picture if we consider the child as a nascent human being and his infancy as situational. The task to be a child is then limited by more or less clear moments in time as well as by data from the physical and social environments.
In the course of time certain aspects were amphasized. Noordam mentions three types of man, in his words: sensory man, heroic man and contemplative man. He further states: "In the course of time the basic forms have continued to exist as types but they have become shaded and intensified. They have refined their methods and opened numerous perspectives which were absent before".
"For educational practic this means in the first place that we have to develop each of the three types without reducing them to one of the three" (3,p.45).
We are chiefly struck by the varying stress on certain aspects of man. The emphasis we are putting in the present time on the intelligencedevelopment and the cognitive development in the early age, as a consequence of research and technological development, does not therefore mean that we are developing one type of man.

5. Besides the family, as place of education of the young child, there are institutions as achools, day-nurseries, playing-rooms etc. which guide children. Without considering the family now as finished or as an ideal education place, we are seeking complementary institutionalized education which does as much justice as possible to children in their development. The bodily, social, religious, moral, intellectual, emotional etc. development are then the objects of contemplation.
As to the nursery-school we maintain that it definitely leaves (should leave) behind the phase of the kindergarten idea.
Besides its classic instruction there is the demand to educate and teach the children in a many-sided way. Starting to teach writing and ciphering fits into the sphere of objectives of the nursery-school because this instruction cannot be detached from the linguistic development of the child (8, p.32). But also the classic instruction (medical, hygienic, social care etc.) are considered from a new point of view.

The period of infant care is quickly followed by that of infant teaching (proposal in N.O.V. report 5.)
In England Szreter dates the beginning of full-time pre-primary education in about 1860 when pre-primary education in about 1860 when pre-primary education has to keep the child off the streets and out of the factory in order to guard it further so that the parents themselves may work out of doors. He continues: "Today we should perhaps consider, whether the 4 years and 5 years old child should not be to some extent protected from the school" (6,p.28).
Does the family need a "school" for the education and teaching of the young child? Basic education (so is infant education too) aims at making those requirements regarding children that it can make best in the school. This does not discriminate the parents. They are rather invited to reflect on and work for education and teaching in a collective relationship. Parents are not necessarily the best educators. They do have the task to deal with education and teaching and then it is evident that also by their co-operation this joint education is being systematically thought out and experimentally tested.
A more collective justification for education and teaching for every child and consequently also for the young child could be found in the realization of the ideas of I. Illich (9) in a "deschooled society" in which education and teaching would not take place in schools but direct in the community and would therefore be no concern of the parents and the school only but a concern of the whole community with its many facets and possibilities.

6. In 1971 the education of the "total" child is aimed at. Starting from the needs of the child the educator can use a series of information about those needs and their development.
The educator has also a task in the choice of materials. Good developmental materials have, however, to compete with an overwhelming quantity of cheaper and other worse materials (7). In practice, however, a one-sided stress on the intellectual or physical development of the child is often corrected by others and/or in other situations. The child is not yet growing up in a glass bell in which it is subject only to a scientific and rectilinear influence. Mostly the contrary is the case.
It is often experienced that about education and teaching of the young child, which are possible in the first years of its life and which determine its further life, we still know and change so little via research in order to profit by it for man and society.

Chapter VI: Trends in the child-family relation in the years to come.

1. This chapter and the following ones concentrate on trends, in this chapter, in the child-family relation. The relation in the factual sociological, psychological and pedagogic unit, which we call family, have been divided by us into parents-children, mother-child, father-child, mother-father, child-child relations.
   Since we scientifically hardly control the relation between the child and a larger educational community we limit ourselves to the relations within the family which are already changing very much. In chapter 4 it was indicated how the necessary change of the relations in the family as well as the relations between families is connected with a family theory which in fact reflects only the "middle class" families of occidental society. An expatiation on these relations without the implications of the social data, for instance, income, in respect of the relations seems to us little fruitful.
2. Parents-children relation
   Many certainties for parents have disappeared. As authorities they themselves are finished. They are seeking new forms and a new educational behaviour. They meet a large current of diverging and contradictory information. They react differently. It is possible that they are seeking support in certain information. Other people, however, emphasize the contradiction of that information, do not find support, become uncertain, consequently action can be delayed.
   It seems necessary that we render (with assistance or not) for integration of the many pieces of information in a personal contact.
   Further there is an opinion gaining ground more and more that there is not one good but that there are many good directions in which relationships can be realized.
3. Mother-child relation
   The importance of the particularity of the mother-child relation is also stressed by those who maintain that the mother is replaceable (1,summary)
   On principle she is replaceable, in other words, another person can take her place. A different function is not created. The person playing the part is being replaced. As a "primäre Bezugsperson", as the person who helps the child in a warm and loving manner, this person is very desirable. Trends are indicating in the direction of "multiple mothering"; it should be observed in this connection that men and father should or can participate. A government policy that promotes the improvement of the child-Dauerbezugsperson(en) relation is urgently desirable.
   In this connection we gladly quote Van Ussel:
   "Whatever is being told about environmental groups, nowhere so much pedagogic and human interest for the child exists as there. Many parents in the traditional family do not get at the stage of amateur (also in the sense of lover) if education is concerned. They are certainly incapable dilettanti, not to mention socialization-experts". (12.p.34,35).
4. Father-child relation
   Father had become (among other things, in the literature of the past years) the great absent person (2,p.27-30) (3. chapter 7).

4. On the other hand we can now strike a more optimistic note and in connection with, for instance, the shortened work-time, the free weekends etc, we can now indicate situations in which there is a close relationship between the father and the child. This is not, however, fundamental criticism. For Mitscherlich (3,chapter 7) the road to a fatherless society will soon be gone by a motherless society and the absence of the parents has further consequences (for instance, the danger due to the absence of norm constancy). It is simply practical to maintain that as long as fathers have no functions at home to the same extent as mothers have. (household, reception of the children etc.) they will remain the absent ones. In general we may not maintain that the father plays the active, social part in the family. Social concern etc. are rather personality characteristics, which, in our opinion, fathers as well as mothers (can) develop.
Government policy should make possible the choice of tasks and a structural break-through (financial equalization, part-time work, training of girls etc.).
5. Man-women relation
The man-woman relation is regarded by many people as a relation of the first order on which the family will always be based The importance of a good man-woman relation is principally appreciated as far as it may influence the future man-woman relations of the children (4, passim).
6. Child-child relation
The relations are frequent and differentiated. According as the number of children in the family increase, the possible relations also increase. The influences of these relations on the child and its development are frequent. Linguistic and intelligence development, socialization etc. can further be subjects of contemplation, for instance:
-The place the child occupies in the series of children influences the intelligence development: the youngest and the eldest child get most posibilities (5,p.227,228).
-As regards language, children do not educate each other. In a family of more than four children the possibility of a good linguistic development is less because of less contact with the mother (11,p.11)
-When the children are older, socialization in the large or small family is less under discussion, as for many young people socialization takes place in the peer-group, though brothers or sisters may also be considered as belonging to the peer-group or being a peer-group.
7. Social data
It appears that social data as income, training, living-environment, religious-political conviction, playing materials, cultural environment, the concern of the parents with the education and teaching of their children, the hidden talent of the parents, working mothers and visits paid to institutions for pre-primary education of their children etc. are exerting influence on and are very closely related to the family relations and consequently not easily accessible for research. As to some of these data we maintain the following:

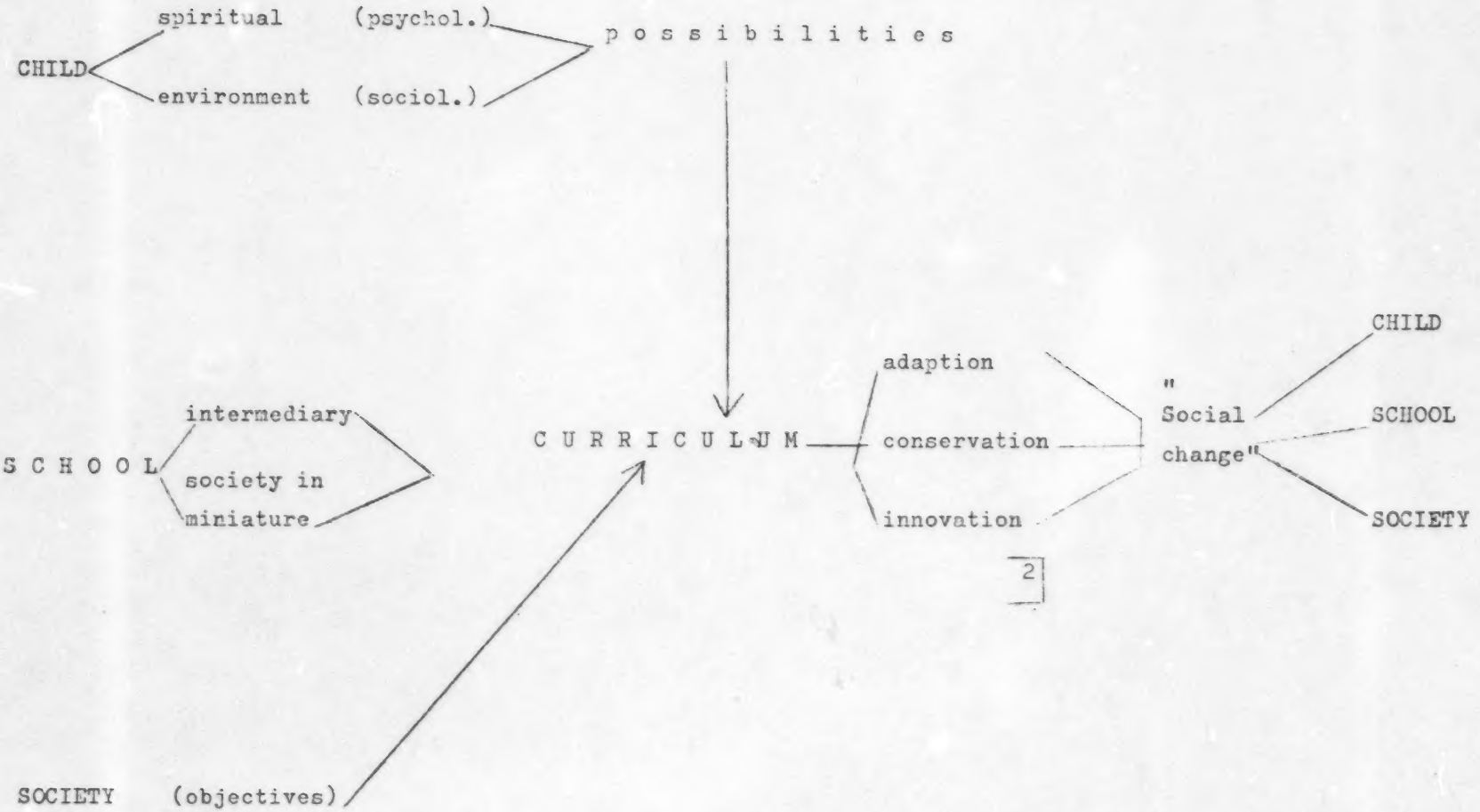
- the income does determine the social status of the family but not the progress, if any, of the child to continued education. If the child shows a good intelligence, the parents are more willing to bear the financial consequences of the training of their children.(5,p.223).
- the training of the parents also determines the progress of the child to forms of continued education and the culture-pedagogical environment. If the mother originates from a higher social environment, she will be more willing to stimulate the child intellectually (11, p,16) + reference to 7 and 8.
- the isolation of the family in society is attended with the isolation of the child in the family. Parents become conscious of this isolation and endeavour, collectively or not, to get rid of it. The training of the parents is attended with an increase of contacts but also with a greater mobility which results in breaking off contacts and prevents closer contacts in the living-environment. The person realizes various contacts in the working- and living-environments. Further the living-environment of certain regions (town-country) can differ and diverge more and more because the population continues those differences (9, chapter 7), which can lead to isolation.
- educational and religious-political ideas can correspond more or less.
  In the past this was the matter indeed in Comenius, Owen-Buchanan and Wilderspin (10) and at present possible in anti-authoritarian groups. Van Heek posits, however, that religious faith plays no significant part in the realization of a stimulating educational environment (5). In practice this means that the religious-political faith has to be strongly marked if it will have any effect in educational sense.

Chapter VII: Trends in the child-school-society relation in the years to come.

1. The previous chapter concerned the sociology and psychology of the family and drew the attention to family-pedagogical aspects; in this chapter we concentrate more or less on the school, or more exactly on the curriculum of the school. Into that curriculum, which should be composed longitudinally, converge the possibilities of the individual (child) on the one hand and the demands of society on the other hand.
   In the field of tension between these two poles the school chooses its objectives which it translates into contents. The training of young people is planned more scientifically. It is tried to gather and analyse data about society and the individual in a scientific and less eclectic manner Education for life in a future society is the aim, present society with its demands is the starting-point. Through many-sided cultural education and a flexible school-organization we shall have to prepare pupils for a "New Culture" (1,p.92).The individual aims have to be fitted into this.

2. The school is, however, more than "school". Like other institutions it is a necessary intermediary between the child and society and a "change institution" as regards that society. The school is a change institution but also a resting-point, society-in miniature. There the child has to be able to show who it is, where it is, in order to make further the first steps into the future.
   The introduction of the school as an institution between the child and society and the picture of the school as "society in miniature" cause the danger that the school becomes independent. It then gets such an independent shape of its own, finding values in itself, that it becomes a block between the child and society. (see I. Illich,4-.).

3. Scheme of the foregoing.


spiritual (psychol.)
CHILD
environment (sociol.)
p o s s i b i l i t i e s
SCHOOL
intermediary
society in miniature
C U R R I C U L U M
adaption
conservation
innovation
"Social change"
CHILD
SCHOOL
SOCIETY
2
SOCIETY (objectives)

4. It is more and more realized that in view of these objectives a coherent system of teaching facilities is necessary. This requires:

4.1. A school system:i.e.a. system of corresponding school forms. All forms of pre-primary education should have a direct link with the following forms of teaching.
An integration of preschool and primary education is pursued by the following models of coöperation
a. curricular (orientation at primary education, pre paratory play-activities, USSR. Eastern Germany)
b. institutional ("Vorklassen" in Germany attached to "Grundschuler")
c. personal integration (From mutual possibilities for attending classes to integrated coöperation - Eastern-Europe "Vorklassen" in Germany)
The third model is mostly realized. Personal initiatives play here a great part.

4.2. A longitudinal curriculum planning. By curriculum is understood here: the total of the objectives made expliciet, the contents and the methods. Only longitudinal planning puts these matters into a certain sequence and creates a coherent system. On the basis of this system individualization and differentiation can be realized.

4.2.1. Although the school has to stick to a certain curriculum, there is sufficient liberty to fit in with changing circumstances, the directives of the curriculum being taking into consideration. The curriculum is not only destined for the present but should also be directed to the future. The aims in the curriculum, determined, among other things, by the most important forces in society are not then data but tasks. The aims find their effect in the future. The school is pre-eminently a room for experiments in consequence of continual consideration of the aims and the methods necessary for them.

4.2.2. Curriculum and pre-primary education
In order to realize as well as possible of the child in combination with the aims a curriculum for pre primary education will have to be developed. We shall have to consider that pre primary education should - as its principal aim- prepare for elementary cultural techniques and data, not in accordance with a fixed scheme but with the curriculum as a directive.
A curriculum for p.p.e. has to stimulate on the emotional cognitive, sensomotorical and social domain as well as on the practical domain f.e. traffic - and swimming instruction.
When providing for curriculum institutions we shall have to take the curriculum for pre-primary education into consideration.
In Italy a curriculum institution (3, p.216) exists for pre-primary education. Such an institution should not, however, remain isolated but should be linked up with other institutions in order to realize longitudinal planning.

4.3. Guidance-and innovation-organs and research centres.
The greatest possible co-operation between these organizations and the school is desirable. There should be no uncertainty as to the "philosophy of education" directing the work of the centres.
The practical work should be continuously analysed in respect of the effects of this "philosophy".
The establishment and upkeep of these centres emphasize once again the necessity of a general educational policy directed to the future.

Chapter VIII: Trends in the development of institutions for pre-primary education

1. Just as the chapters 7 and 8 this chapter concerns trends: In this chapter trends in the development of institutions for pre-primary eduscation. In the description of these developments it is possible that desirable rather than actual developments are aumed at. There is, however, no absolute difference between these two.
2. The child mostly passes its first years of life in the family, in an environment considered safe for the child, which, it is true, admits relatives, friends and acquaintances but remains "constant" and "intimate".
   On the other hand we can imagine that children grow up from an early age in a clinic/day-nursery where many favourable developments may be expected with regard to hygiene, application of new edicational ideas, feeding practice etc. Much more even than in the family a constant environment can be created here(1, passim).
   Clinics and day-nurseries are not considered, however, by many people as "natural" environments and they will not be considered as such without further ado. Behaviour towards children, greeting them, care for their bodies and fostering etc. become prescribed behaviour(1) (2, chapter X, par.1). Here the problem is not that there is an objection to prescribed behaviour, if it only does not exclude or hinder the "natural" behaviour (i.e. the behaviour developing in and because of the situation).
   Institutions mentioned below are intended for children from two or three years to six or seven years.
   To all appearance the age-limits of the institutions are shifting downwards and upwards.(3)
3. In nearly all countries we fund not only an increase of the number of institutions for pre-primary education but also an increase of differentiation (chapter 6). Ad a result efforts are made to order these institutions for pre-primary education into the total educational system.
   Because of the many different names for these institutions in all countries, which cannot be easily translated and which cannot be understood in other countries by identical expressions, an enumeration of institutions is not relevant here. For each country some attention has been paid to this matter (Appendix 1).
   Ordering categories, such as the ages of the children in the institutions, working with the children full-time, part-time or periodically etc. do not help sufficiently.
   A division into governmental and private institutions differs enormously for each country. Trends have been indistinctly indicated.
   For instance, institutions for pre-primary eduaction are divided into crèches, infant day-nurseries, infant reception-centres and nursery-schools. It will be clear thet the word "chrèches" represents various kinds of crèches.
   The total conception of funotions benefits, however, by differentiation. As soon as institutions apply to distinct groups of children with distinct methods and media, a survey is possible.
4. Now that institution are divided according to the ages of the children, the socio-cultural environment of the family, specific talents and defects of the children and management etc., it should be demanded previously that these multifarous institutions may not be developed separately.
   The gap between infant and primary eduaction in many countries is a arning in this respect.

If the development of institutions is concentrated so that larger institutions are created, it will be certain that these institutions, which are or will be children's centres, will be multifunctional. Children will not be immediately divided and if they require special help or guidance for their development, they will get it.
The lag in development or the wish for a more specific development is at that moment a grouping datum but not afterwards.
The institutions indicated above have in their service on the one hand adults who can enter into a relationship with one or more children, guide these children in an age group/ working group or something like it, stimulate their general eduaction, and on the other hand adults who will act as specialists who favourably influence in a systematic manner the physic development, the cognitive development or other developments. Specialists who can realize moreover an integration of, for instance, singing, moving, games etc., are most welcome.

5. The question whether the nursery school should be made compulsory in connection with social justice regarding children from deprived social settings whose parents do not appreciate the necessity of such an education, is answered in the affirmative by many people. The government will then be compllod to provide the necessary facilities because otherwise compulsory nursery-school education would not be possible. Advocates of compulsory nursery-schools intend to accelerate a development which otherwise will no doubt take place, however, much slower. It is a fact that there are in many countries waiting-lists for participation in pre-primary education so that for the time being parents cannot even make a choice with regard to complementary institutional education for their children.
Facilities to be provided by the government in this field are therefore desirable without more and in the interest of the whole nation. Where in primary eduaction compulsion is an accepted fact, compulsion in nursery-school education should, however, have no effects in the wrong way. Some parents might understand a compulsory form of pre-primary education as a result of a process in which the government interferes more and earlier in the lives of its citizens.
It should be much more stressed that parents desire the complementary institutional education, demand it from the government and prepare their children for it.

6. Some time in the course of the 5th, 6th of 7th year the child enters what we still call the primary school. In many countries the age of entrance has been fixed collectively; in less cases it is related to an individual examination for readiness for the school (4, p.216)
Research shows that the younger children in the 1st primary school year mostly stay down (5, introduction chapter 96).
Research also shows that young children are already able to follow succesfully the program of a first primary school year (5). The conclusion is that success in the primary school depends very much on individual development.
Fixation of the individual age of entrance by means of an examination of the readiness to attend school is being realized, though only in an initial stage. We observe, however, also that not the children but the school itself is considered as a "problem". The school as a mature institution, would have to deal with those children that got into it for whatever reasons.
"The moment at which the child can start with the subject-matter of primary education becomes a number of moments according to the different activities" (7. p.32)

7. In many places and countries nowadays (and already in the past) parents themselves have proved to be able to organize the education and teaching of their children in concert with other like-minded people.

Schools were so established in the beginning but now still play-groups, baby-sitters' centres etc. are organized. An advantage is that in this way parents become better motivated and discover defuciencies in the development of their children. This development is prejudical if the groups of parents reproach the community with omitting to provide facilities. The basis is then laid for cliques of parents who, on account of their ideas, social positions, incomes etc. are resisting social developments rather than favouring, modifying etc. these developments themselves.
Family day-nurseries, which have to make up in some countries the shortage of public institutions for pre-primary education are depressing in many cases.
Mothers who are more or less obliged to work outdoors have no guarantees as regards the receptuon of their children. Women who, for whatever reason do not want to work or cannot work out of doors make reception of children their occupation (see, for instance, England). Inspection of teh family day-nurseries is regulated in the countries concerned. This reception of children caused by the shortage of public institutions for pre-primary education needs no further elaboration.

8. Earlier in this chapter the term "children's centres" was used. We wish to amed this term here to "community educational centres". Among other things these centres aim at guiding the children of the community concerned, with regard to their education and teaching. A new feature in these centres is that also parents (mostly the mothers) are received there. They meet other parents and experts, they are invited to help but they themselves also attend educative lectures. These centres express the idea that present-day education should be communal and social, also for the parents themselves. (10, p.27).

9. In imitation of or conformity with the infant school in England, other countries (Federal Republic of ermany) are developing in accordance with their situation a school between the nursery-school and the primary school (8).
Also the reception of children that cannot yet attend the primary school and are helped in "reception classes" leads to that effect. These "intermediate schools" have been established for a great part in consequence of the fact that other institutions are scarce (in England: the nursery school) or do not function well (in the Federal Republic of Germany: the primary school).
The aims of such "intermediate schools" are, among other things, exerting a favourable influence on the methods, curricular contents etc. of the following school.

Chapter IX: Trends in the development of experiments and research.
In various fields of pre-primary education research is made at present in order to obtain a more scientific basis for a possible curriculum. We shall mention some fields of research. For each field one or more trends in the research will be indicated in short. The investigations that will be mentioned by name should be considered as examples. A complete enumeration of all investigations has not been striven after.

1. Language

1.1. Language compensation

Though attention has always been paid to the teaching of language to the infant, there was practically no question of a systematic influence on the teaching of language. Only gradually the connection, investigated already earlier by Vygotsky 1) and Luria 2), between linguistic and intellectual developments became an object of interest.
Bernstein 3) showed that there are different forms of linguistic usage, namely the "restricted code" and the "elaborated code." Though in various subcultures people can use both forms of linguistic usage (4, p.142) the "middle class" chiefly uses the "elaborated code". This is characterized by a more differentiated grammatical structure by which its users can more easily make intellectual progress. This is much less the case in the users of the "restricted code" who may be found chiefly in the "lower working class". On the basis of these data experiments were started in which groups of children from economically and socially deprived environments were trained in a certain sentence structure while it was tried to increase their knowledge of words.
The best known program is that of Bereiter and Englemann 5) in the United States, on which also other programs have been based 6). The program is characterized by the fact that children are drilled in saying and repeating all kinds of sentences with logical structures and connections, however not without trying to find links with the psychic and social world of the group of children involved. Since the drilling method does not, however, begin with the actual linguistic usage of the environment of the children in order to change it, the method remains isolated besides the environmental linguistic usage and it is not integrated into the environment of the children. After one year's training with the Bereiter/Englemann method the results proved to be positive in the fields of exercide with some emanations to other fields. After two years results outside the fields of exercise could no longer be proved 7).
Criticism of linguistic compensatory programs may be found in Oevermann 8) who, through a still current study of the "Institut für Bildungsforschung in der Max Plank Gesellschaft" tries to prove that the entire action pattern, in which language has an intermediary function, is important for the cognitive style which is developed. The child should not be drilled from a higher level but should learn, by reflection on its (own) actions in situations, to develop a more differentiated action structure.

1.2. Early learning to read

This appears to be possible for some children and is justified provided that it is not injurious to other aspects of the development of the child and the instruction corresponds with what has already been learned (9) (26)
One should realize that in consequence of all kinds of cultural influences earlier developments and quicker integration-processes can be possible (10)
As an example of the research about early learning to read we may mention a number of German investigations, for instance Brem-Gräser, Munich 1969, Rüdiger, Regensburg 1970, Kratzmeier, Heidelberg 1970.
N.B.
Through research one will have to investigate whether it is efficient to teach a child to read in an early long-continued process whereas it is possible later in a much shorter period.

1.3. Second language

Learning a secong language at an early age seems to be possible to such an extent that one wonders whether as many children as possible would not have to learn indeed a second language.

1.3.1. In Germany at Heidelberg one has started an experiment for instruction of a second language (English) for 3 to 4 years old through playing situations.
Provisional conclusions are:
- By connection of the second language with playing situations spontaneous learning becomes easier and no further motivation -stimulation is necessary.
- Using the second language is for children easiest if it occurs in connection with persons.
- Disturbances in the separate linguistic developments did not occur quickly; one may rather expect an increase of intelligence (11, p.48-52).

1.3.2. In France introduction of English into nursery-schools is under discussion. Learning the German language at an early age has already been introduced on a small scale. In accordance with cultural treaties between France and Germany teachers for pre-primary education are being exchanged. The teachers are working two to three months in a nursery-school in the receiving country. They teach their language in three groups so that each group is taught in another language at most for a third part of the school-hours. The teachers who perticipated in the experiment are engaged in follow-up research. For 1971-72 one intends to exchange about 100 teachers (12, p.4,5).

2. Compensatory programs

2.1. On principle compensatory programs pay attention to as many facets of infant development as possible in order to compensate less favourable environmental circumstances.
Not only the language but the whole set of cognitive patterns, values and attitudes of the child from a deprived environment differ from what the school and society demand.
It appears that motivation is a subcultural variable (13)-
The child from a deprived environment is living in a different "culture-pedagogical setting" (14, p.27) characterized by shorter term aims resulting in less "achievement motive", less concentration and less differentiated observation etc.
The possibilities of exploration are restricted by lack of functional toys and by unfavourable living accomodation.
In the compensatory programs executed so far (for instance Head Start in the United States of America) attention was chiefly paid to finding defects, presenting different playing materials and a positive working attitude.

Most American experiments failed because the measure taken were already too late and consequently had little effect (some months prior to primary school).
Such projects are only significant if they start with children at an early age and link up the home and the school so that the child may not meet emotional difficulties due to living in two worlds, and if the potencies of the chield are thoroughly investigated for further action in the direction of clearly formulated attitudes, skills and knowledge.
We may resume as follows:
-The teachers should be prepared for the confrontation with quite different value- and motivation- patterns.
-(Scientific guidance is necessary (compare Experimental Crèche 1970 - Holland and the experiments of the English School Council, Swansen). At short notice little may be said yet about the effect of the scientifically developed programs.

2.2. Guiding house-to-house calls appear to have a positive effect in compensatory programs. This has been proved after a five years' project of R.A.Klaus and S.W.Gray (15).

3. Family guidance experiments

3.1. It may be posited that if one wishes to create a favourable climate for early infant development, one can create complementary family education.
In no case the parents who fail in preparing for the school, may be deprived of their educational authority. It should be tried to involve them so much in the program that they themselves understand the importance of a stimulating culture-pedagogical climate for their children and try to realize it in co-operation with the project.(17)

3.2. In Holland at Utrecht a project has been started which aims at guiding parents from low SES families in their actions regarding their children in connection with activities for preparation for the school (14).

3.3. In Rotterdam a project is being realized by the social psychologist Grandia. In this project it is tried to realize an integration of the work in the family, the school and the coomunity centre (18).

3.4. Worth mentioning is the Paraproffesional Educator Manager (PEM) Model which introduces new professional roles in early childhood education.

4. Crèches complementary to family education

4.1. Most crèches are a business of a certain group of parents, who together or via an appointed teacher are responsible for the program in the crèche. There is hardly question of scientific guidance, owing to lack of financial means. The results of complementary crèche education in the field of social contacts and cognitive attitudes cannot therfore be easily verified.

4.2. In Holland we have the "Institution for Crèche and Science" which started the experiment "Experimental Crèche 1970".
Further about 13 current projects might be mentioned in respect of the transition of infant to primary education, linguistic differences, flexible school structure for pupils from 4 to 12 years, compensatory programs and the playing-learning class. The Foundation for Educational Research at The Hague is financing these projects, which are executed by scientific institutions.

4.3. A Danish research states that a well equiped crèche has positive results with regard to the hygienic,motor,social and intellectual development of the child. Principally children from deprived environments profit by reception in a crèche.
The crèche may hinder the linguistic development of 2 to 3 years old and if it demands too much conformity as to the behaviour of

5. Anti-authoritarian crèches

5.1. On the basis of ideological starting-points (criticism of society) and Freud's theories a form of pre-primary education is created in which the child is free in meeting its needs. By this satisfacation the child may obtain self-regulation and become conscious of its own position in society.
Results of anti-authoritarian education in the twenties, who for the rest were not clearly socio-critical are not overwhelming (20). Little is know still about the results of the present forms of anti-authoritarian education.
Experiments in the field of anti-authoritarian education have found place principally at Berlin (21). Also other German towns (Frankfurt, Hamburg, etc.)have anti-authoritarian crèches. In Holland the experiment of an anti-authoritarian crèche is being made at Rotterdam.

5.2. Research about forms of leadership gives as result that a democratic but demanding environment presents the best opportunities for development. To what extent this result may be generalized for the young child, is not clear to us.(22).

6. Forms of compensation via mass-media
In the United States of America a television compensatory program "Sesame Street" has been developed for the preparation of very young children for elementary cultural techniques. The testresults of the Educational Testing Service (Princetown) are positive (24)

7. Curriculum development

As an example we may mention the Swedish Nursery School Project of The Institute of Educational Psychology, Gothenburg School of Education, in which 500 children are following an experimental program. An equally large group for comparison is not following this program.
The attitudes of teachers who participate in the experiment are tested.
One also intends to measure long-term effects. In this way one hopes to find a basis for recommendations and for a systematic curriculum for nursery-schools (23).

Chapter X : Lines to the future

A. The objective of pre-primary education is making possible complemenatry care and education in groups for every child and presenting equal opportunities for development (also teaching) - pre-primary eduaction for everybody - in an adequate environment meeting the specific needs of the child.

Extension of pre-primary eduaction in connection with the above mentioned objective is desirable because:

a) recent psychological investigations (namely in the United States of America) have proved that prior to its sixth year the child has no fixed intelligence but that this intelligence can be influenced very much by the environment. The susceptibility for and the reception of stimuli is greatest in this period of growth. Systematic influencing has the greatest effect prior tot the sixth year.

b) the social circumstances are structurally neglected in a very much changing society directed primarily to economic-technical progress. Especially the socially vulnerable groups suffer for the urbanization and industrializatinn process.

c) in an institutional connection the social element in education can be emphasized better than in the closed family. Linguistic development is stimulated by other children in the group. No separate family can provide any longer a variety of justified developmental materials and their use.
It is realized that elemnetary cultural skills are systematically transferable not only at a certain age.

B. a) The futurologic problems we should have to consult for the elaboration of this chapter cannot be pictured by reading some standard works of Kahn,Wiener, Jungh or Polak.

b) In the field of methods and techniques of future-research we repeatedly ran up, when making this report, against the polarity between extrapolation on the one hand and future-creation on the other hand (both in many forms). In the objective of this report this tension is already included. May we confine ourselves to drawing further all lines of the dominant culture into the future or are we challenged to give a new face to latent cultural forms?

c) "The future of our teaching" has, as a topic, a place in our educational planning. In our opinion we there become aware of something or other about methods and techniques but hardly about that "other teaching".
To such an extent as an alternative public transport system is deemed necessary in view of the dominant nature of, for instance, the development of private transport, we have found no study in the field of eduaction and teaching or we meet Illich, Jensen and Hake, authors who have already been consulted elsewhere.

C. For each subject we now give recommendations (a) immediately followed by a description of the present situation(b):

1. Finance

a) Facilities for pre-primary eduaction by which all children of society (in consideration of the above) should profit more or less, should be free of charge: this implies that the government should fully finance subsidize these facilities.

Obliging parents to contribute towards the cost of pre-primary education leads to the favouring of children of certain groups and the waiving of pre-primary eduaction by those groups that plead the cost in excuse.
Also for society-critical institutions for pre-primary education subsidies should be available.

b) In general governments do not yet show many initiatives. Private initiatives (for instance anti-authoritarian crèches) are sometimes subsidized. Existing institutions for pre-primary eduaction are mostly dependent on financial contributions from the parents, which causes discrimination against children from socio-economically deprived environments.

2. Continous school structure

a) A continuous school structure providing children with a system of teaching facilities should also include pre-primary education. If more and more children are going to receive instruction prior to the present primary school, we may say that the child receives primary instruction as soon as it is ready for it (individually different). Existing structures cause social differences. It should be prevented that pre-primary eduaction will be used in order to continue and increase social inequality.

b) With some exceptions (Germany, Sweden, Russia) there is no total conception of education in which pre-primary eduaction has a place. In the past pre-primary education was dealt with as a separate school form and so the gap between pre-primary and primary eduaction has become an obstacle for which many children have to suffer. Pre-primary and primary eduaction hardly have points of contact.

3. Differentiation

a) Differentiation according to intensity and direction of teaching should be aimed at in connection with differences resulting, for instance, from socio-economic position, socio-geographic situation, bilingual environments, personal capacities, possibilities for development in the primary environment etc. Facilities for pre-primary eduaction should present a scale of possibilities varying from day-schools (care and teaching) to part-time teaching (some hours daily or weekly).

b) Incidentally some attention is being paid to developmental differences of children prior to their entrance into the primary school, among others, trough compensatory programs. People mostly start from the idea that every child needs the same nursery-school curriculum and profits by the same kind of help. Environmental differences are pointed to but mostly disregarded in the programs.

4. Curriculum-planning

This planning should be structures on the basis of recent development psychological and pedagogical ideas, for instance, in respect of preparatory forms of reading and ciphering and the moment to start teaching these subjects. One should take into consideration a differing pace in the development of functions and intelligence in order to provide compensatory facilities in accordance herewith. Primary education should form an organic unit with pre-primary education so that the difficulties caused by the present gap disappear(staying down, putting back, etc.

International cooperation for curriculum-planning is desirable in view of the increase of possibilities (solutions in other countries).

b)In most cases in pre-primary education a general, not clearly described program is being applied so that the individual needs of the child cannot be met.
The age of the child and the demands of the primary school determine the program more that the developmental level of the child does. There is no question of international co-operation in this field.

5. Antropological basis

a)Equal participation by children from all groups of the population in pre-primary education is desirable. Social justice demands that the government will promote equal opportunities. Pre-primary education will then no longer bea "middle-class education". Teachers should be trained anthropologically. Knowledge of the causes of differences between groups of the population may lead to cancellation of these differences.

b)Not all groups of the population are equally interested in pre-primary eduaction and participation by children in pre-primary eduaction therefore differs for each group. This difference is accepted and regarded rather as a consequence of the choice of the parents than as a consequence of ignorance and social lag. Pre-primary eduaction (such as other educational forms) is "middle-class" education. The teachers are not trained anthropologically, which training might make them conscious of human values, choice of values and so prevent social differences.

6. New media

a)In education a careful use should be made of the new media which are developed at a rapid pace, owing, among other things, to the fact that society primarily applies to economic -technical progress (see Ib). By means of the new media work can be done more efficiently and greater possibilities of differentiation can be realized. When using new media one should wonder, instead of what they are being used. Does not, for instance, the personal relation with the child suffer.

b)As the media are new and many people have been overwhelmed by their development, they are used on a small scale so far. They hardly serve the effectivity of teaching.

7. Informal learning

a)The school should increasingly take into consideration the information the child gets outside the school. Information transfer at school should be effected in a manner attractive for the child. A critical attitude towards the information presented should be cultivated in as well as outside the school.

b)Outside the school the child gets through the new media much information which the school mostly does not take into account.

8. Staff training

a)On the basis of an analysis of the present training programs and a sounding of the needs in the field a nearly new training for teachers in pre-primary education is necessary. An integral training with primary school personnel, in which training horizontal and vertical differentiations are applied, seems possible (subject-specialization and direction to a certain age group).

As regards the content, learning to co-operate with specialists and parents, to operate new media, ti study linguistic, development-psychological and sociological theories will have to get a chance.

b)The present forms of training differ internationally but have in common that the new developments have insufficiently penetrated into them.
Horizontal and vertical differentiations of the training are differantly handled in the countries under consideration or not at all. An international agreement has hardly got any chance yet. New contents (see above) are used incidentally.

9. Educational centres

a)Teaching- and educational facilities should be realized in functional connections so that room will be left for engaging interdiscciplinary teams of experts for research, experiments, guidance, innovation, in-service training, etc. Within this service pre-primary eduaction should have a high priority.

b)Teaching- and educational facilities(outside the schools) are still realized only incidentally. Only a small number of experts are still engaged in these facilities so that the tasks (see above) get into a corner. This service is hardly directed to pre-primary education.

9.1 Research

a)Continued research is a requirement for the execution of guidance, innovation, etc. This research should ne centralized as much as possible so that a larger budget may be claimed.

b)Research is often a closing entry in the budget. Co-ordination and centralization are lacking and clear recommendations are seldom brought forward.

9.2 Guidance

a)Expert guidance in teamwork is desirable. In the training of experts(university training) a specialization directed to pre-primary education should be made possible.

b)When we look at this matter from the point of view of history we observe that ever new experts have entered the school (physician, psychologist, educator, social worker) who are all acting in their own fields an do not easily co-operate. Their training is insufficiently directed to their future field of action and also principally not to its interdisciplinary nature.

10. Economics

a)Investment in human beings by means of pre-primary education is according to some economists a long-term investment of which the effect cannot be immediately measured by individual labourplaces and by income. It should ne realized that pre-primary education doe does have effect not only in the long run but also at short notice. A good foundation can be laid only once. Continued education van then be realized on a good foundation. Talents can profit by an optimum development only from childhood.

b)That pre-primary education is necessary to make an optimum development of talents possible is hardly used as an argument for the motivation of pre-primary education. Economivally pre-primary education is not considered as an important factor yet.

11. Task of the parents

a)Facilities for information, guidance, counseling and participation for parents (in centres and via media) should be provided. Room should ne left for other initiatives to be taken by the parents and for their ideas and opinions. Community-development (for instance, in the form of social meeting-places) can be necessary for parents so that they may learn to realize their task better.

b)The present society, which is getting increasingly more complicated, is ever making greater demands upon the personality and making the educational task more difficult(deepening, early start).
Moreover parents feel uncertain with regard to the future.

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